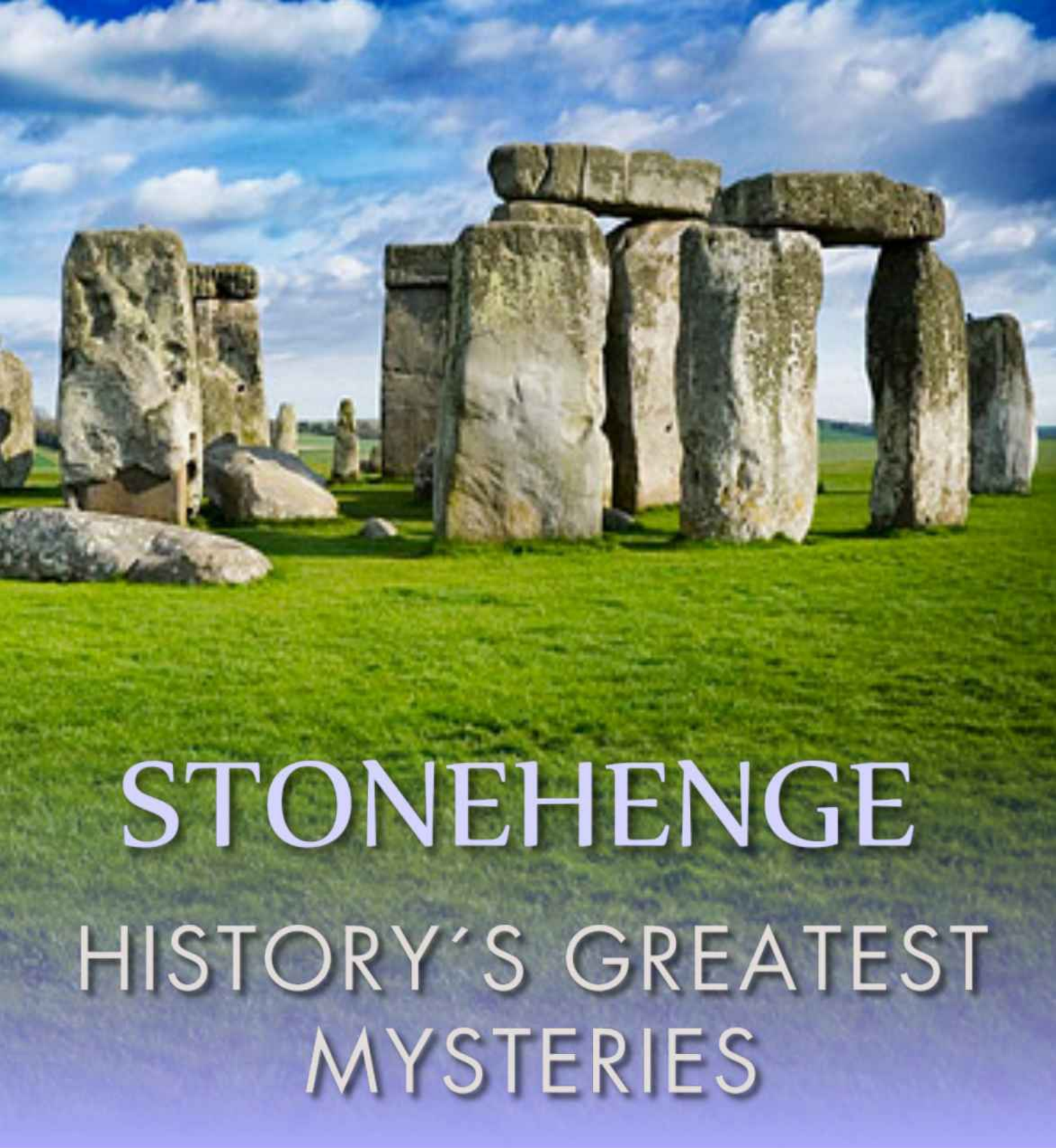
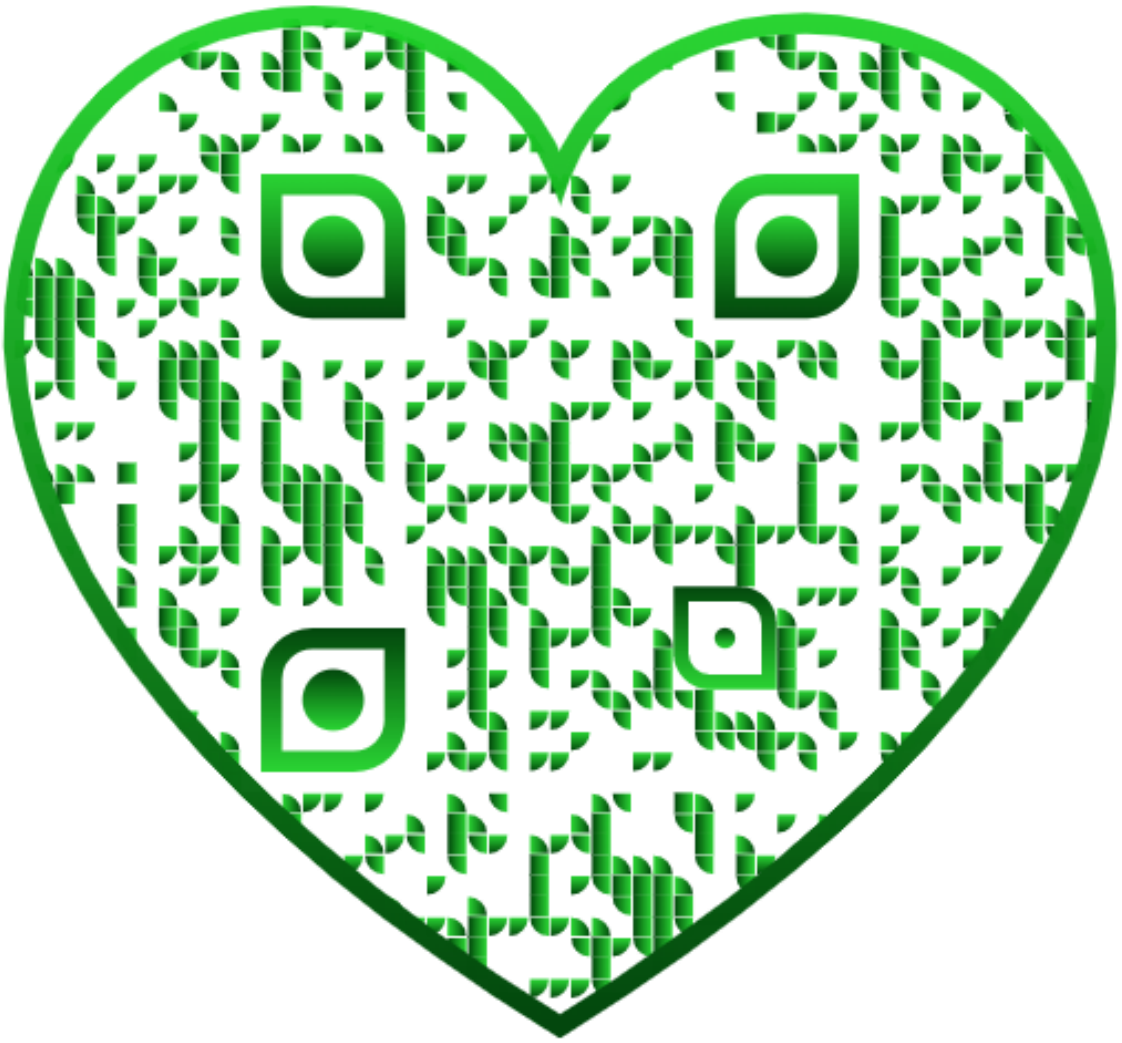


STONEHENGE

HISTORY'S GREATEST MYSTERIES

by
JESSE HARASTA
and
CHARLES RIVER EDITORS



History's Greatest Mysteries: Stonehenge
By Jesse Harasta and Charles River Editors

Looking up to the sky from the middle of Stonehenge

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About the Author

Jesse Harasta graduated in 2009 from Syracuse University with a masters in Linguistic and Cultural Anthropology. Jesse is currently a doctoral student finishing his thesis, and he has had articles published in academic magazines and journals in both the United States and Great Britain.

Introduction

Stonehenge during the Summer Solstice in 2005

Stonehenge

"The interest that has always attached itself to Stonehenge has, without doubt, been in a great measure due to the mystery as to the origin of this unique monument of bygone time." – H.P. Blackmore, 1916.

For centuries, professional historians have labored through the painstaking task of documenting history as accurately as possible, but even with modern technology, archaeology, and records, some questions have eluded attempts to answer them. From the origins of Atlantis to the Lost Colony of Roanoke, the mysteries behind some of history's most famous people and events have fascinated countless generations. In Charles River Editors' History's Greatest Mysteries series, readers can discover the known, the unknown, and the possible answers to history's most enduring questions in the time it takes to

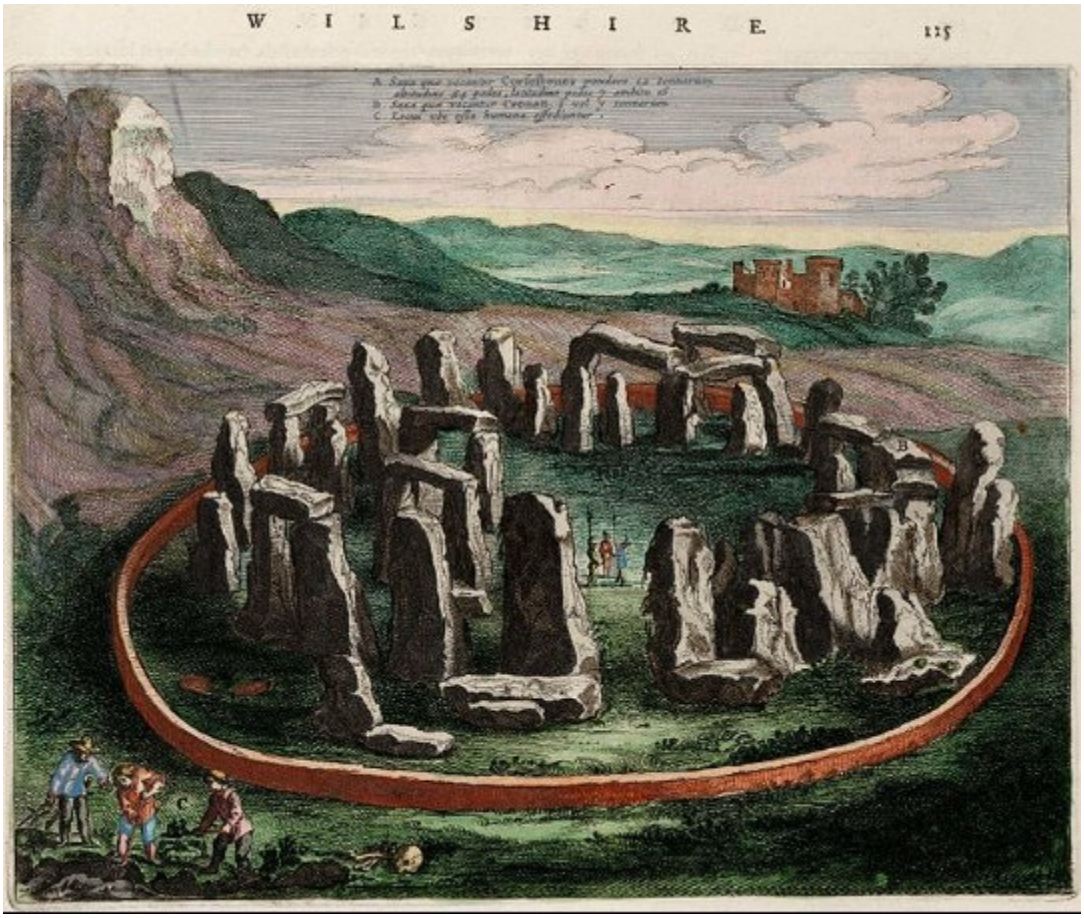
finish a commute, while learning interesting facts long forgotten or never known.

On the Salisbury Plain, only a few hours from the hustle and bustle of Central London, remains one of the greatest surviving relics of humanity's ancient past: the mighty stone circle of Stonehenge. Stonehenge is one of the most well-known ancient sites in the world, and an image of it raises numerous associations and emotional responses. Its impressiveness comes not only from its size and remarkable level of preservation, but more so because of the incredible precision with which it was constructed during an era of simple technology and social organization. Obviously, it is a place of great importance—then and now.

Despite its placid, changeless appearance, Stonehenge has been a place of political, ideological and religious struggle for centuries. From the vigorous debates of 19th century theorists to the all-night dance parties of the 1980s, the history and legacy of Stonehenge is as much about the desires and fears of the people of modern Britain as it is about the ancients. Stonehenge has belonged to all of Britain's people since its construction began roughly 5,000 years ago, and they have all added to its unfolding story.

Of course, Stonehenge has long fascinated the rest of the world too, as people continue to try to understand every aspect of the site and the underlying purpose of it. This involves an understanding of why Stonehenge is located where it is, what the materials consist of, and what archaeology has uncovered about the people who built it. On top of that, Stonehenge is a center of mythology and folklore that has evolved over time, establishing the foundation for a unique spiritual belief system that both celebrates Stonehenge as a “living temple” and challenges the official guardians of the place.

History’s Greatest Mysteries: Stonehenge comprehensively covers the facts, mysteries, and theories surrounding the ancient megalith. Readers will understand Stonehenge from all dimensions: as a physical place, an object of scholarly study, a site of ecstatic worship, a “must see” world-class tourist destination and a simultaneous icon of both history and counterculture. Along with pictures and a bibliography, you will learn about Stonehenge like you never have before, in no time at all.



A 17th century depiction of Stonehenge

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A Key to the Archaeological Terms at Stonehenge

Aubrey Holes: A series of postholes found around the outer edge of the Henge marking places where wooden poles once stood. They were named after the archaeologist John Aubrey, who is said to have discovered them.

Avenue: A pathway formed out of two embankments and accompanying standing stones that extends eastwards from Stonehenge. On the Summer Solstice, the sun rises along the Avenue. Today the Avenue is cut off from the Henge by route A344.

Axis: The alignment of Stonehenge's primary trilithons, the Avenue and the Heelstone along the line of sunrise/set on the summer and winter solstices.

Barrow: An artificial hill raised over a neolithic tomb. Found in great density around Stonehenge.

Bluestone: A non-local stone found within Stonehenge. They are smaller than the local sarsen stones.

Heelstone, The: A lone sarsen standing outside the main henge, but lying along the line of the Axis.

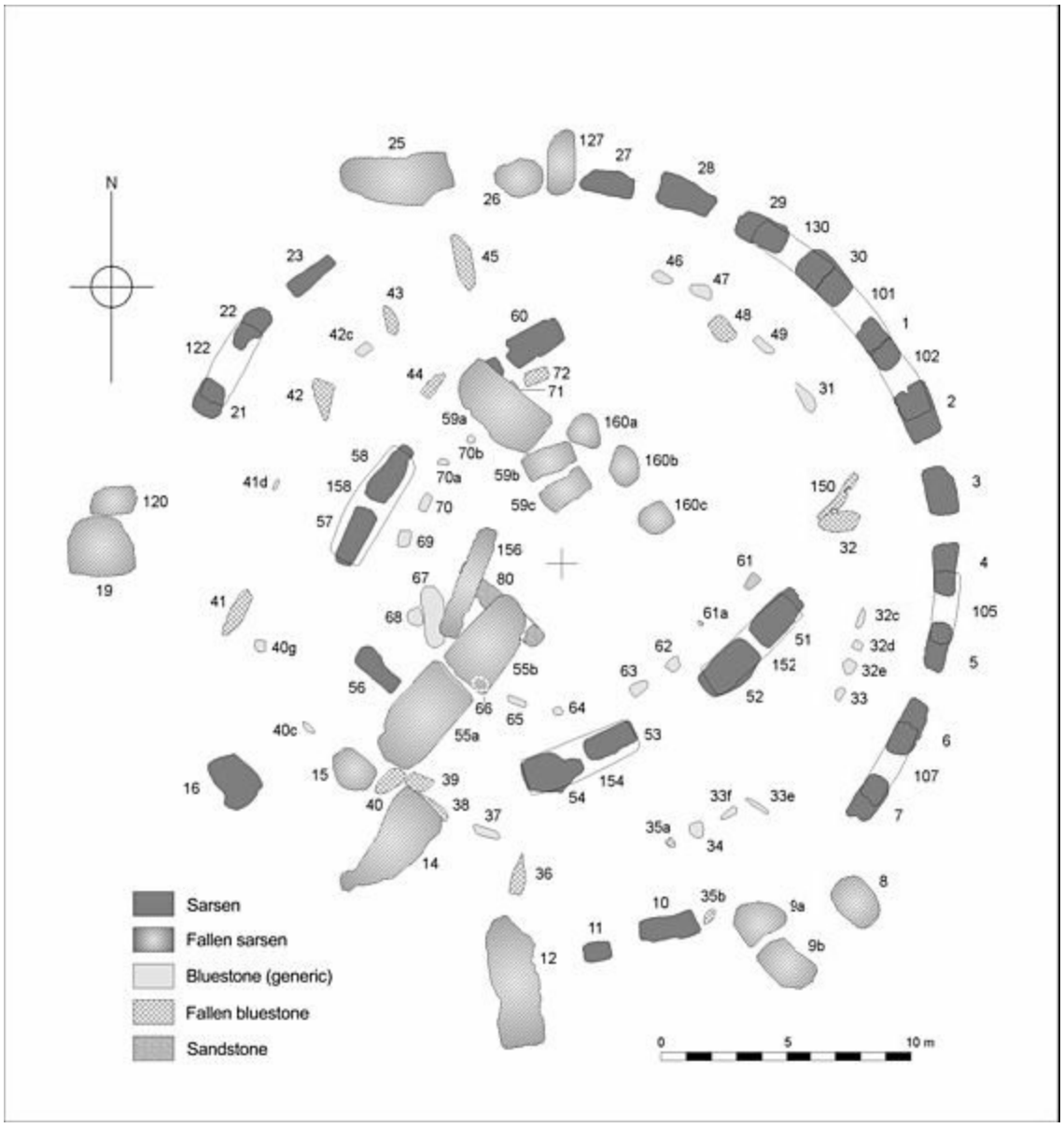
Henge: A circle of standing stones regardless of size.

Megalith: Any large (“mega”) stones (“liths”) used for the construction of monuments or buildings; especially used for ancient structures like Stonehenge.

Sarsen: A variety of hard local stones used to construct the primary ring and the trilithons of Stonehenge. The largest stones in the monument.

Trilithon: The central objects of Stonehenge, these are five sets of three sarsens: two uprights and one lintel. Arranged in a horseshoe around the Axis, they are the largest constructs at the site.

Chapter 1: Physical Description



A layout of Stonehenge and its different physical characteristics, by Anthony Johnson

"Salisbury Cathedral and its neighbour Stonehenge are two eminent monuments of art and rudeness, and may show the first essay and the last perfection in architecture." – A letter written by a Dr. Johnson in 1783.

While much is disputed about the history and future of Stonehenge, there is a universal understanding of exactly what it is: the most impressive megalithic monument in Britain and possibly the world. Moreover, there is

an understanding that the Stonehenge we see today is not the product of a single designer, or even a single civilization, but instead a place of importance for centuries if not millennia.

Even before construction began at the site known as Stonehenge, the locals were busy nearby. Archaeology has found the existence of construction that involved wooden posts dating back to nearly 8000 B.C. The posts had an east-west alignment similar to sites of the same nature found in Scandinavia, but not in Britain itself.

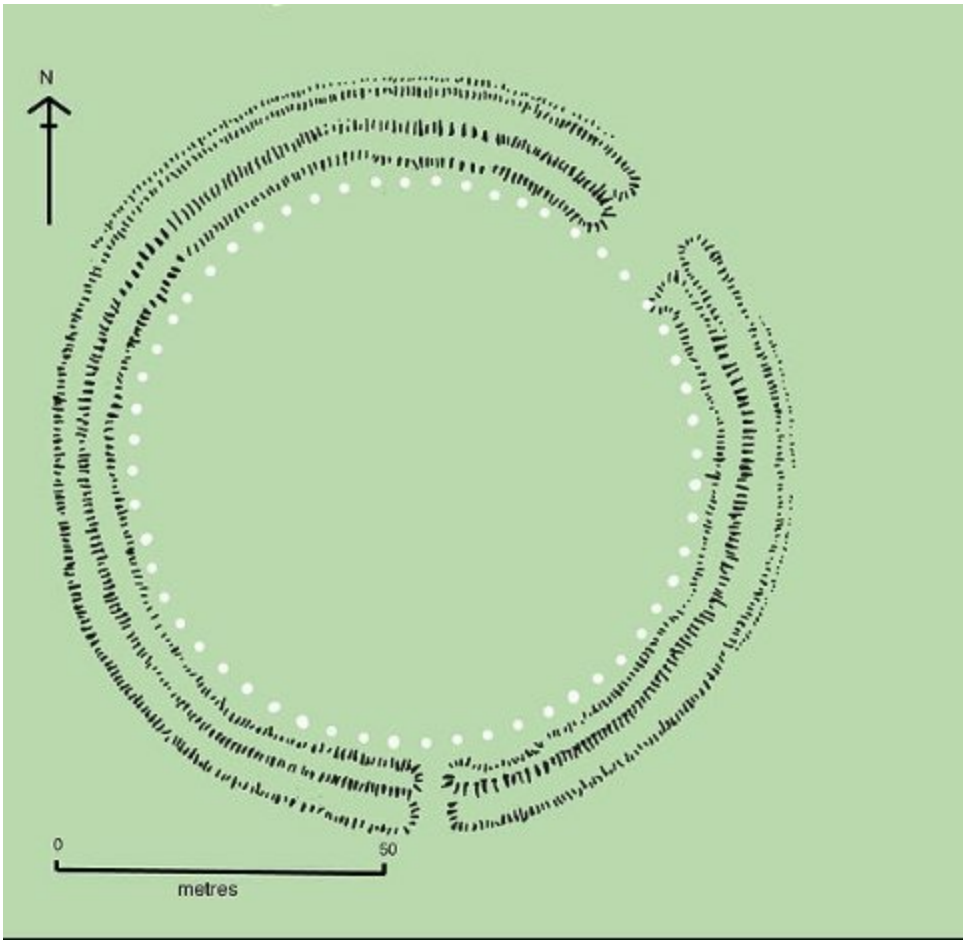
About 5,500 years ago, the Stonehenge Cursus was built a little less than half a mile to the north of Stonehenge, possibly because the woods were being cleared by farmers in that direction as the area was developed. The Cursus is a ditch that runs over a mile long and is about 150 feet wide, and the fact that it was initially thought to be an Ancient Roman race track gave it the name cursus (Latin for “course”). One of the tools presumably used to help dig the cursus was found by archaeologists, who were able to radiocarbon date it to the middle of the 4th millennium B.C.

The Stonehenge Cursus

The first Stonehenge, with construction beginning over 5,000 years ago, is believed to have been a circular earthen wall and ditch called an

“embankment”. The ditch and wall had a diameter of over 350 feet and two entrances in the south and northeast. Archaeology found animal bones and tools, but the fact that the tools and bones were not the same age indicated that the space was being used for burial.

The outer edge of the structure had 56 pits in a ring within the embankment, and it is now believed to have had 56 wooden posts to go along with those pits. These were called Aubrey Holes after John Aubrey, a 17th century man who specialized in antiques and first noted the existence of the pits. Some people believe that the pits held the first “blue stones”, which means stone construction started at Stonehenge about 500 years earlier than commonly believed today. Nevertheless, most people believe that the wood posts and the wood buildings constructed within the circle were removed when the first stones began being used, around 2600 B.C.



A diagram of the initial construction at Stonehenge, usually referred to as Stonehenge 1

In place of the wood buildings, the builders made two semi-circles of small "blue stones," but those were replaced only a century later with a full circle of mighty sarsen stones. These 30 upright stones each weighed about 25 tons and are believed to have come from the vicinity of the sister stone circle of Avebury, located some 20 miles away in the Marlborough Downs. They were used to construct a circle about 100 feet across. Along the top of the upright sarsens were placed "lintel" stones, which connected the ring. Despite the fact that the site was built on a slight slope, the builders managed to adjust the heights of the sarsens so that the lintels were almost level across the entire structure.

Finally, in the heart of the circle stand the mightiest of the constructions: five "trilithons" (Greek for "having three stones"). These were freestanding trios of stones with two uprights and one lintel, and the five trilithons formed a rough horseshoe. While the lintels of the sarsen circle were roughly 16 feet above the ground, the tallest trilithon was about 25 feet high. The engineering needed to construct the site is even more impressive when considering that roughly a third of the length of each upright is buried in the earth.

Trilithons at Stonehenge

The sarsens in both the outer and inner circle are the most remarkable element of the construction. They were not quarried but were instead found half-buried as boulders on the landscapes, remnants of the last Ice Age. Formed of sands bound together with silica, these stones are notably hard and are often used for roadside curbs or stone stairs. The fact that these stones were not only transported from the Marlborough Downs but also shaped into uniform rectangular forms using only stone, wood and bone tools is a testament to both the ingenuity and dedication of the builders.

Graffiti found on one of the sarsen stones

Within both the outer circle of sarsen stones and the inner horseshoe of trilithons are rings of smaller non-local stones called “blue stones.” These stones vary in origin and are not as carefully worked as the sarsens. The source of many of them, however, has been traced to an area of southern Wales nearly 150 miles away. Whether they were brought by humans or glaciers to the area is still up for discussion, as archaeologists have only been able to demonstrate that either answer is within the realm of possibility. 150 miles would have required Herculean efforts to transport the stones by water and/or land, but it’s apparent that some of the large stones were transported nearly two dozen miles too.

Some of Stonehenge's bluestones

The alignment of Stonehenge is of crucial importance, both for its builders and for its admirers today. The horseshoe of the trilithons looks directly towards the opening of the embankment, which itself leads to a long avenue of approach. Together, this alignment is known as the "Axis", and on this avenue is another sarsen, the famous "Heelstone." The Trilithons, Avenue and Heelstone are all aligned so that on the day of the Summer Solstice (June 21), the sun rises directly over the Heelstone, and on the Winter Solstice (December 21), it sets between the stones of the now-fallen central, tallest Trilithons. At the same time, a growing body of evidence suggests that ancient peoples only came to Stonehenge during the Winter Solstice, based in part on the discovery of pigs' teeth and an analysis of how old the pigs were when they were slaughtered.

The Heelstone

Looking at Stonehenge from the Heelstone

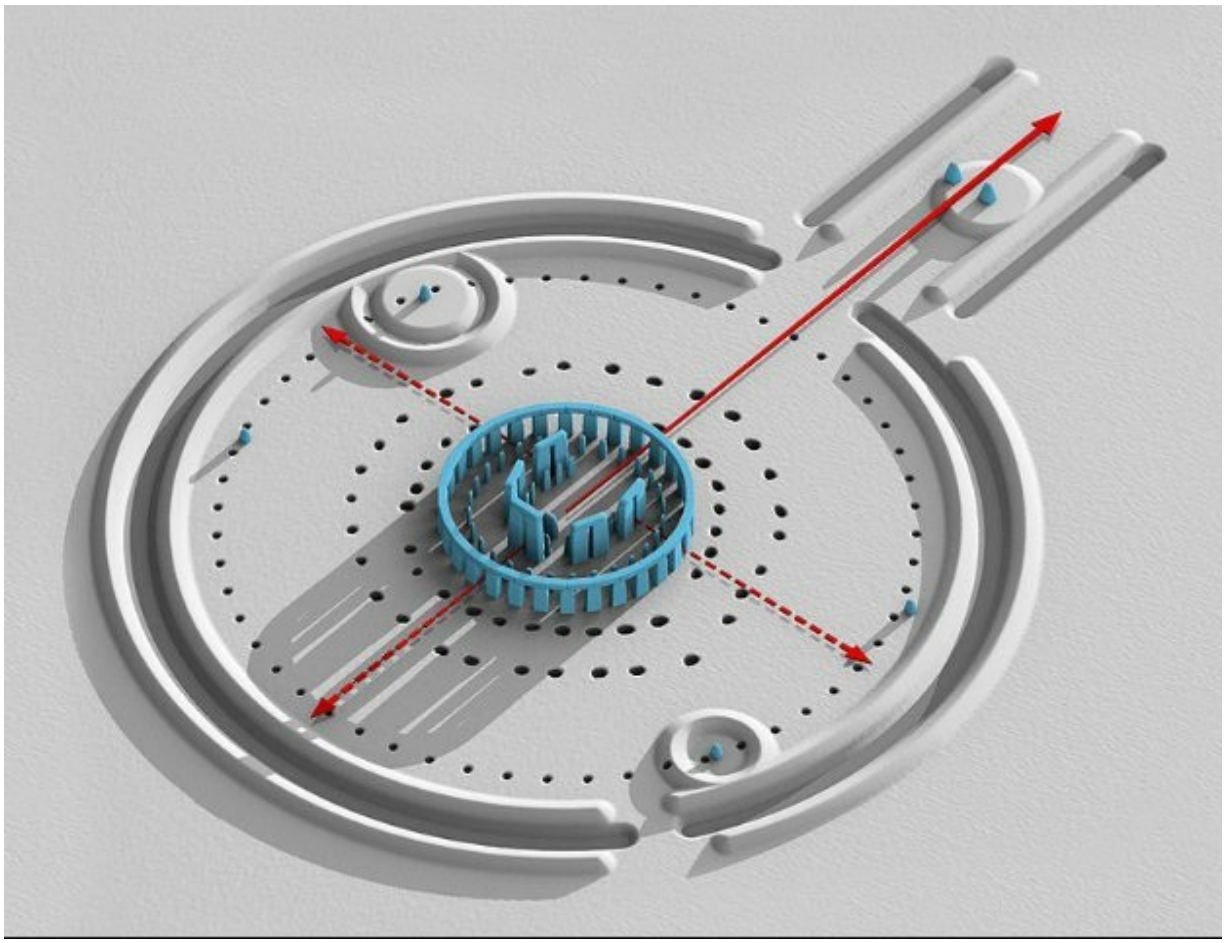
While there is a possibility that other stones are similarly aligned with other celestial events so that the entire building was a rough calendar of the year, these associations are still debated by archaeologists. The field of archaeoastronomy (the study of the relationship between ancient peoples and the stars) at Stonehenge has been a contentious one, with astronomers and archaeologists taking sides originally around *Stonehenge Decoded* (1963) by Gerald Hawkins, which claimed Stonehenge could be used to predict eclipses. The debates began centuries ago, with even Edmund Halley studying the placement of the Heelstone and debating whether it had been astronomically aligned or even with the help of a magnetic compass.

Stonehenge rests on the Salisbury Plain, a broad, high chalkland in southwestern Britain that is rich in ancient sites. Salisbury Plain includes not only the main complex at Stonehenge but also barrows, hills, palisades and other monuments. In the words of UNESCO, “they form landscapes without

parallel" and are today largely protected within the World Heritage Site.[1]

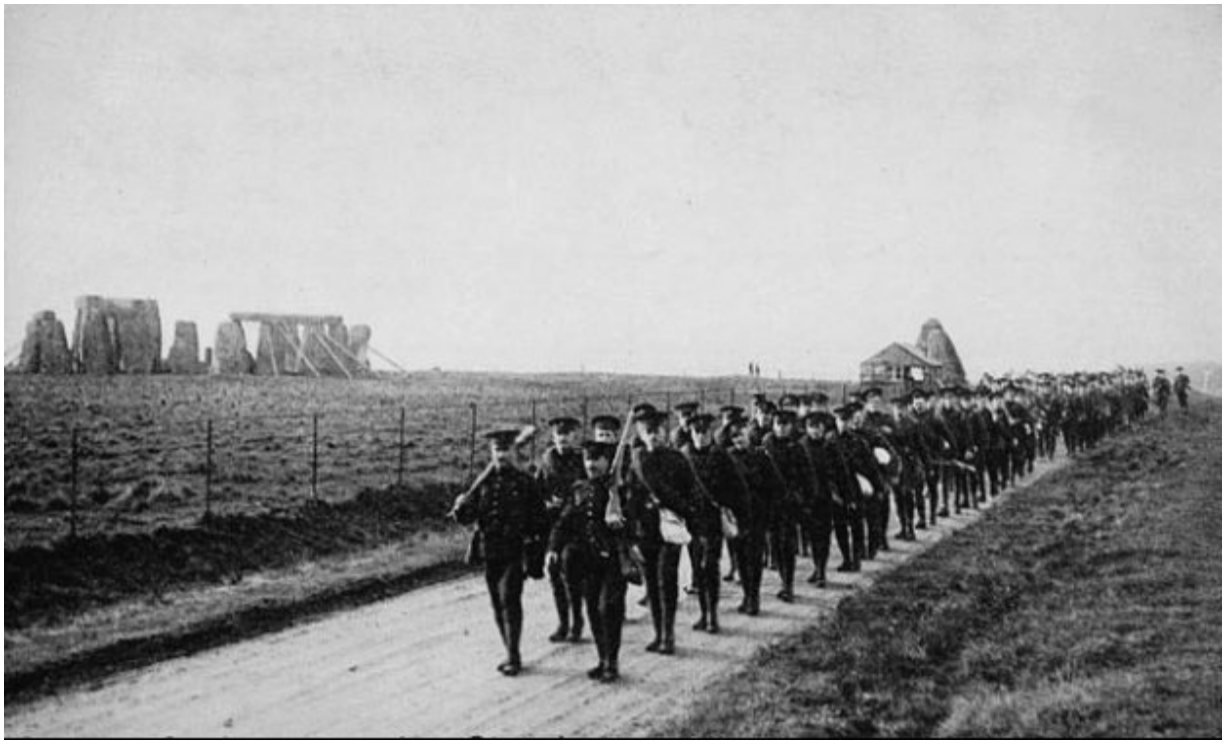
This landscape is often overlooked by today's tourists, who focus upon the stones, but it was undoubtedly important for the builders and for archaeologists attempting to understand the social context in which Stonehenge was constructed. Currently, the owner of the surrounding area, the National Trust, is working to restore the ancient ecosystem: a "calcareous (chalk) grassland." This ecosystem is characterized by a thin soil over limestone or chalk bedrock and covered in hardy grasses. It is notable for its rich wildflowers, and this ecosystem was created in the Stonehenge area once it was first cleared of trees. The area will be used for grazing without harming the system,[2] but the fact that it has little in the way of fertility has actually served the site (and especially the surrounding minor sites) well, protecting them from the destruction of the plow and modern buildings that have eliminated archaeological sites in many other areas of Britain.

One area of recent landscape research has been the large number of burials on the surrounding uplands, which people have long associated with Stonehenge itself as a result. The earliest groups, those who perhaps erected the first embankments and wooden posts, buried their dead in great communal graves, such as West Kennet Long Barrow northwest of Stonehenge. In this barrow (an artificial hill with burial chambers build within), bones were mixed between individuals with different types of bones inhabiting different rooms.[3] Importantly, the builders were able to move large sarsens to create a doorway to the tomb similar to the later trilithons. However, the builders of the later Stonehenge buried their dead in individual round barrows on hilltops, often within sight of the henge. Many of these burials were of wealthy individuals, indicating that the area either had a concentration of wealth or that the powerful sought to be buried near the famous monument. For some archaeologists, this landscape was the "Lourdes" of ancient Europe, attracting (like the modern French sanctuary) numerous sick and wounded seeking healing, especially amongst the neolithic well-to-do. Some of these individuals were not healed, accounting for the high percentage of burials in the nearby area that contain these types of remains.[4] Perhaps most interestingly, archaeologists have found no evidence of burials among the barrows within the Stonehenge site itself



A computer rendering of what Stonehenge might have looked like when it was completed

Chapter 2: Archaeological Work



This picture during World War I shows work being done on Stonehenge, with wood propped up against some of the stones.

There has never been a point in British history where knowledge of Stonehenge was lost, so unlike other famous sites like as Lascaux Cave in France, Machu Picchu in Peru or Great Zimbabwe, there is no revelatory moment of discovery or an accompanying transformation of archaeology. On the contrary, Stonehenge has existed in the public consciousness throughout the entire history of the discipline of archaeology, and due in part to its proximity to great universities at Oxford, Cambridge and London, Stonehenge has been intimately involved in the evolution of the discipline at every stage.

"Early" archaeology at the site can be found amongst the first attempts to apply the scientific method to the material remains of the past. The first individual who would fit this designation of "archaeologist" and who studied the site was John Aubrey. Aubrey's magnum opus was *Monumenta Britannica*, an attempt to catalog the stone monuments of southern Britain. In it, he described Stonehenge in great detail, including noting the holes where

the ancient wooden posts had once been located (now called “Aubrey Holes” in his honor) and attempting to link the site up with existing textual evidence. This led him to connect the site with the Druids described by Roman chroniclers, a connection that current scholars have refuted. Nevertheless, Aubrey’s work was an important step in making people look at Stonehenge as a site of scientific and historical significance, not simply one for folklore and romance.[5]

John Aubrey

After Aubrey, the next major archaeologist to work on the site was William Stukeley, who bridged the worlds of archaeology and neo-druidry. For Stukeley, an Anglican Priest, there was no doubt the druids had built the site, and he and his contemporaries (like Iolo Morganwg in Wales) attempted to reconstruct this ancient “authentic” British religious tradition, which he believed was itself part of an ancient “universal” religion.[6] Stukeley, however, was important in the field of archaeology too, since he was the first to scientifically attempt to date the site using now-disproved theories about the migration of the magnetic poles. Despite using flawed science, Stukeley was the first to recognize the site's celestial alignment, and he even began tentative steps at excavation, opening a grave he described as belonging to a “warrior princess.” Stukeley's major work on the site was entitled

Stonehenge, a Temple Restor'd to the British Druids (1740).[7]

Stukeley

In the 19th century, excavation began in earnest not only at Stonehenge but also among the surrounding landscape, which included a large number of barrows. Two prominent figures were William Cunnington and his patron and collaborator Sir Richard Colt Hoare. Together and separately, the two men excavated hundreds of burials and dug into the earth around the stones. While their techniques were relatively crude, and they discarded much that would be immensely useful for today's archaeologists (including ashes from campfires and both human and animal bones), a lot of what they found is still useful to researchers today. Their work *Ancient Wiltshire* (1812-21) "set a new standard in the publication of antiquities"[8] in the way that it based its findings entirely upon the concrete facts found within excavation and through its meticulous description of those findings and their contexts. These

findings excited interest in the ancient past throughout Britain and served to push archaeology from the realm of antiquarian dabbling into the science that it would become.

Monument to Hoare in Salisbury Cathedral

The last of these classic archaeologists to work in the site were William Gowland and William Hawley. Gowland worked to restore the site in 1901, and Hawley attempted to do the same from 1919-1926. They stabilized stones and performed some archaeology on the site, working as agents of the state with their work being funded by public money. The site had already become a major tourist attraction, in large part because of the Romantic images promoted by the earlier archaeologists at the site, and the state wanted to ensure their safety (from falling stones) and the maintenance of the location. Work of this nature was going on around Britain for some time, especially after Lanyon Quoit (another form of stone monument) in Cornwall tumbled in 1815. Lanyon Quoit was re-erected in 1824 by British naval

engineers who took the liberty of cutting down the stones to increase their stability.[9] Similarly, Gowland re-set one of the stones using concrete and moved it roughly half a meter from its original site.

Gowland

An 1877 picture of Stonehenge

A picture of Stonehenge from that same angle today indicates the differences created by reconstruction.

By the 1920s, archaeology was emerging into its own right, particularly the development of stratigraphy and typology. Stratigraphy is the study of soil layers at a site to determine when features were created relative to one another and to features and artifacts in other archaeological sites. Typology is the comparison of artifacts from numerous sites to determine relationships (e.g. “people from culture A produced hand axe style A and pot style C”). When used in concert, these scientific methods transformed archaeology from being the study of unique sites to allow for the understanding of the relationships between multiple sites. In Britain, the “father” of these techniques was William Flinders Petrie, who worked primarily in Egypt but began his career as a young man digging at Stonehenge in 1872 (at age 19). This technique was further revolutionized by an Australian named V. Gordon Childe who worked in the ancient ruins on the Scottish Orkney Islands.

Childe aimed to transform archaeology into the study of social history of non-literate peoples.[10]

As always, Stonehenge was important in these transformations, and William Hawley was something of a transitional figure. On the one hand, he re-discovered the excavations of his predecessors by literally digging the ground they had disturbed, but he also discovered a layer he called the "Stonehenge Layer", which he dated to the construction of the sarsens. He correctly noted that many of the features (like the Aubrey Holes) pre-dated this construction, thus making him the first scholar to correctly understand that the site was constructed in several phases. In fact, a heavily modified form of his chronology is still used today. Unfortunately for Hawley, his findings were dismissed in his own time.

The multi-stage construction of Stonehenge was further developed, popularized and pushed into the realm of scientific consensus by one of the 20th century's greatest Stonehenge archaeologists: Richard Atkinson. Starting in the 1940s, Atkinson worked on excavations at the site throughout the 50s, 60s and 70s, and continued writing about it throughout his life. His last book on the subject, *Stonehenge and Neighboring Monuments*, was published in 1993, one year before his death. In 1979, Atkinson proposed an elaborate timeline for the evolution of the site (building off of Hawley's rudimentary finds), stretching from 2,800 BC to 400 AD . Moreover, Atkinson was influential beyond Stonehenge, as he codified the techniques he used at the site in his 1953 textbook *Field Archaeology*, which was widely used in British archaeological classrooms and was republished in 1981 by Hyperion Press.

Another area that produced photogenic results during this period but unfortunately little in the way of concrete facts is experimental archaeology. This is a branch of archaeology where researchers attempt to reconstruct the tools and techniques of extinct cultures. It first came to prominence in 1947, when the Norwegian Thor Heyerdahl floated his raft "Kon-Tiki" from Peru to Easter Island to show that it was possible that the islands could have been settled by South Americans. This style of archaeology has been popular at Stonehenge because of the huge technical questions at the site: how were the stones transported, shaped, and erected?

At Stonehenge, experimental archaeologists have used elaborate pulleys to lift concrete replicas of the trilithons, attempted to drag bluestones from Wales, and even tested a theory that the stones were moved on huge stone "ball bearings."[11] While this makes for good television[12] and can sometimes disprove the feasibility of various theories, experimental archaeology in this form can never prove exactly how Stonehenge was constructed, only how it was not. Lately, experimental archaeology has moved towards trying to reconstruct the lives of the builders, not just their construction methods. The Neolithic Houses Project attempts to reconstruct the homes of the builders (based off of finds at the nearby site of Durrington Wells) and have live interpreters attempt to perform all of the basic activities of life (cooking, making tools, farming, etc) in the buildings.[13] This is part of the post-Childe move in archaeology away from the spectacular sites and into the reconstruction of ancient lives and communities.

The development of modern archaeology has been incredibly important in re-shaping recent opinion about the site. The use of chemical analysis has helped fuel the growing interest in reconstructing pre-historic landscapes. Chemical analysis' most famous technique is carbon dating, the use of Carbon 14 residues in prehistoric organic matter to determine the precise date when the once-living creature died, but it has had numerous applications across archaeology. The modern archaeologist is often as much a chemist as an excavator. Chemical dating techniques have given archaeologists a formerly-impossible Holy Grail: a precise date for historic structures and activities.

A site of such prominence as Stonehenge was ripe for chemical dating, but unfortunately, stone is not conducive to radiocarbon testing. Thus, radiocarbon dating was only applied to residue found under the stones in 1995, some 36 years after the invention of the process. Together with further investigations in 2008, archaeologists have been able to affix more precise dates to Atkinson's 1979 chronology, pushing back first construction to approximately 3000 BC.[14]

While this work, done primarily at the main Stonehenge site, has caught considerable media attention[15], other archaeologists have been working hard to expand the very concept of "Stonehenge" beyond the stones to

embrace the landscape around the site, including the nearby stone circle of Avebury. While archaeologists have been interested in the surrounding areas as early as Gowland and Hawley's excavations of surrounding tombs, it has been a subject of further interest in recent years for a number of reasons.

Stone circle at Avebury

Perhaps the most pressing issue is the deplorable state of the site. For years, the UN World Heritage Site authority, archaeologists and neo-pagan groups have protested that the nearby roads are potentially damaging the site, and one literally cuts through Stonehenge's processional avenue. Even English Heritage, the site's caretaker, now admits that changes are necessary. [16]

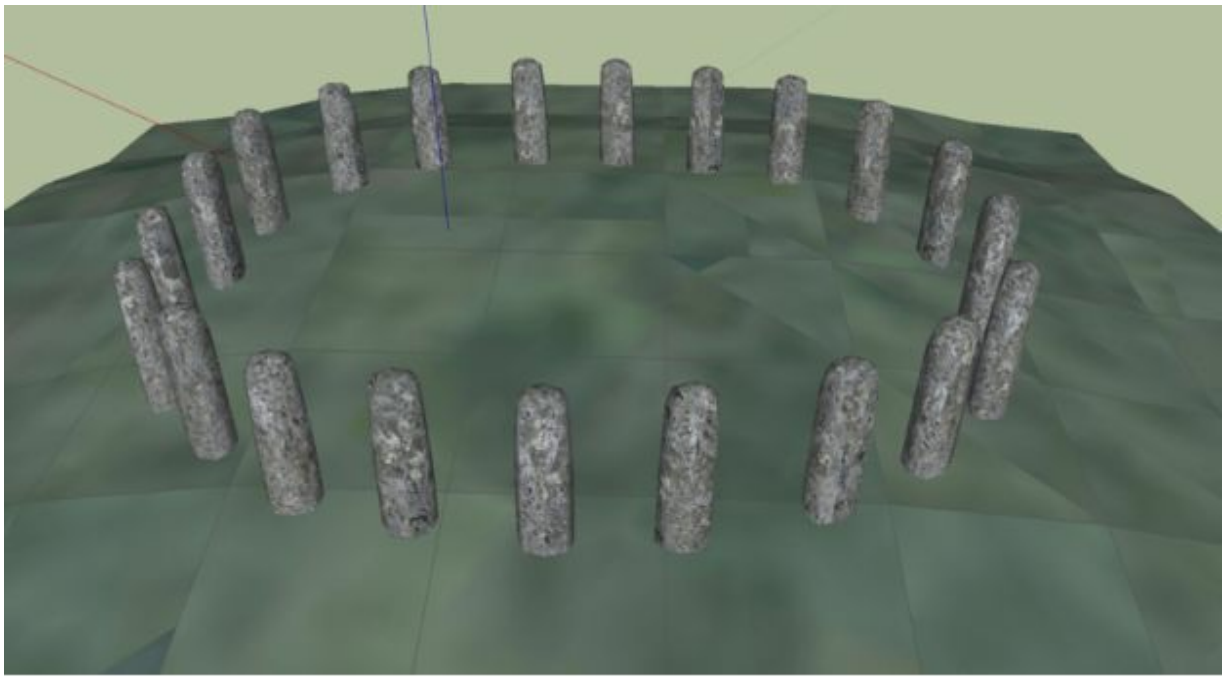
Aerial view of Stonehenge

This activism has led the interested parties to call for a reconstruction of the Neolithic landscape, but that only raises questions about exactly what the Neolithic landscape looked like. Modern archaeological techniques allow for more knowledge to come from the analysis of ancient pollen and wood ash, which has allowed archaeologists to describe the landscape that the builders saw: hardwood oak forests, rich in game. These approaches culminated in the final years of the 20th century with works like *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies: New Approaches to the British Iron Age* (1997) edited by Adam Gwilt and Colin Haselgrove, and *Stonehenge in its Landscape: Twentieth Century Excavations* (1995), edited by Rosamund M.J. Cleal, K.E. Walker and R. Montague.[17] Even more recently, the use of Global Positional Satellites (GPS) and computerized mapping technologies like Geographic Information Systems (GIS) have allowed archaeologists to plot out the locations of sites and compare various forms of data to reconstruct maps of what the builder's landscapes looked like.[18]

The growing consensus is that the site as people recognize it today was only the focal point for what served as the most important funerary landscape for its builders, like the chapel at the heart of a cemetery. For instance, the 2003-2008 Stonehenge Riverside Project found that funerary rites were

central to the site from its earliest incarnation, and that it probably served as the ceremonial burial place for its society's most important and wealthiest individuals.[19] This work has also led to the discovery of vitally important sites on the nearby landscape, including the neolithic village at Durrington Walls,[20] a second neolithic stone and wood henge about half a mile from Stonehenge itself that has since been buried under the soil (and discovered using ground-penetrating radar),[21] and a third henge called "Bluestonehenge". Bluestonehenge is roughly a mile away from Stonehenge alongside the Avenue that leads from Stonehenge along the axis of the solstice,[22] while some archaeologists claim the second Neolithic henge is actually the remains of a barrow. These finds and their accompanying debates, all made within the last 10 years, suggest that the Stonehenge Landscape is only now beginning to be understood, and that a greater understanding of the site will come with further research.

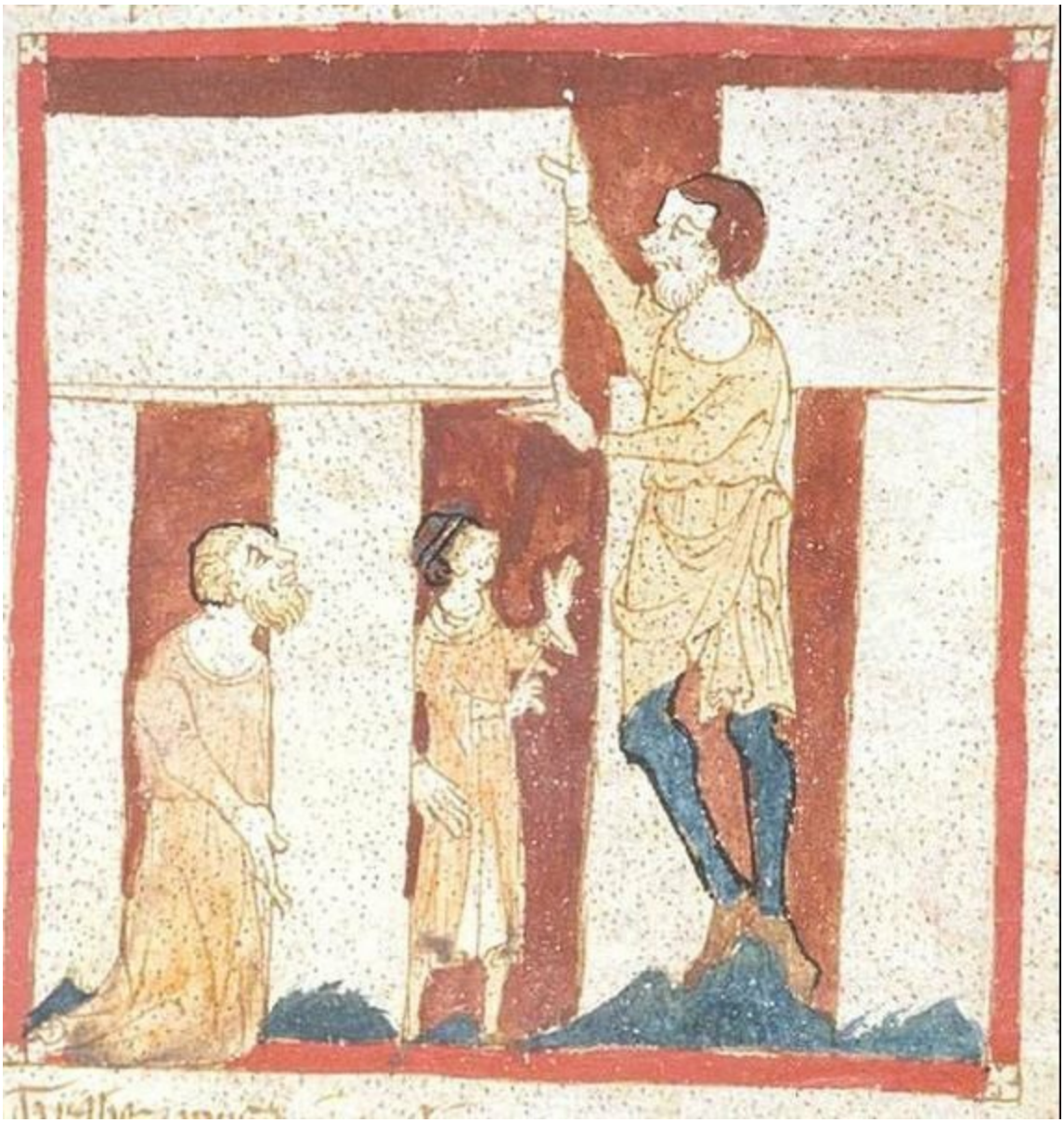
Excavation at Durrington Walls



A computer rendering of Bluestonehenge

Chapter 3: Folklore and History

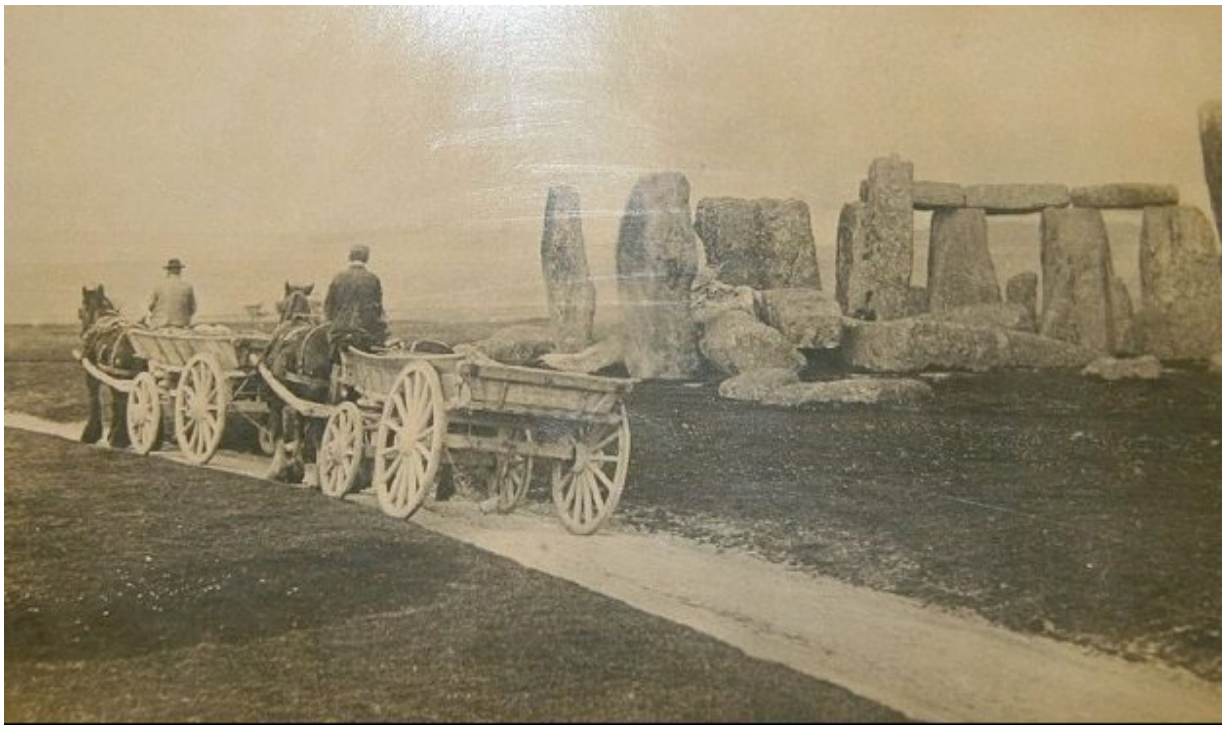
The presence of Stonehenge on the Salisbury Plain has always been public knowledge in Britain, and speculation about the site has always accompanied that site. One of the earliest written accounts is Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (cir. 1136) ("History of the Kings of Britain"), which credits the site's construction to the wizard Merlin. According to the legend, Merlin brought the stones over from Ireland either by magic or with the help of giants.[23] Theories continued to be expounded as the centuries passed, including one by the famous architect Inigo Jones, whose employees surveyed the site in 1655. Jones declared that it was most likely a Roman temple.[24] Nevertheless, until the 19th century, Stonehenge was rarely considered more than a curiosity and was not a major tourist or pilgrimage site.



This 12th century manuscript illustration depicts a giant helping Merlin build Stonehenge. It is the earliest known depiction of Stonehenge in history.

Despite these mysterious legends and wild conjectures, the site's history dating back to the Norman period is well known because it is located in an area that has been extensively farmed for centuries. It entered the history of land tenure as part of the estate of Amesbury Abbey, then transferred during the Reformation to the Earl of Hartford. Stonehenge then passed through several other hands and into the Antrobus family, whose last heir died in World War I. It was bought in auction by a local baronet who donated it to

the State.

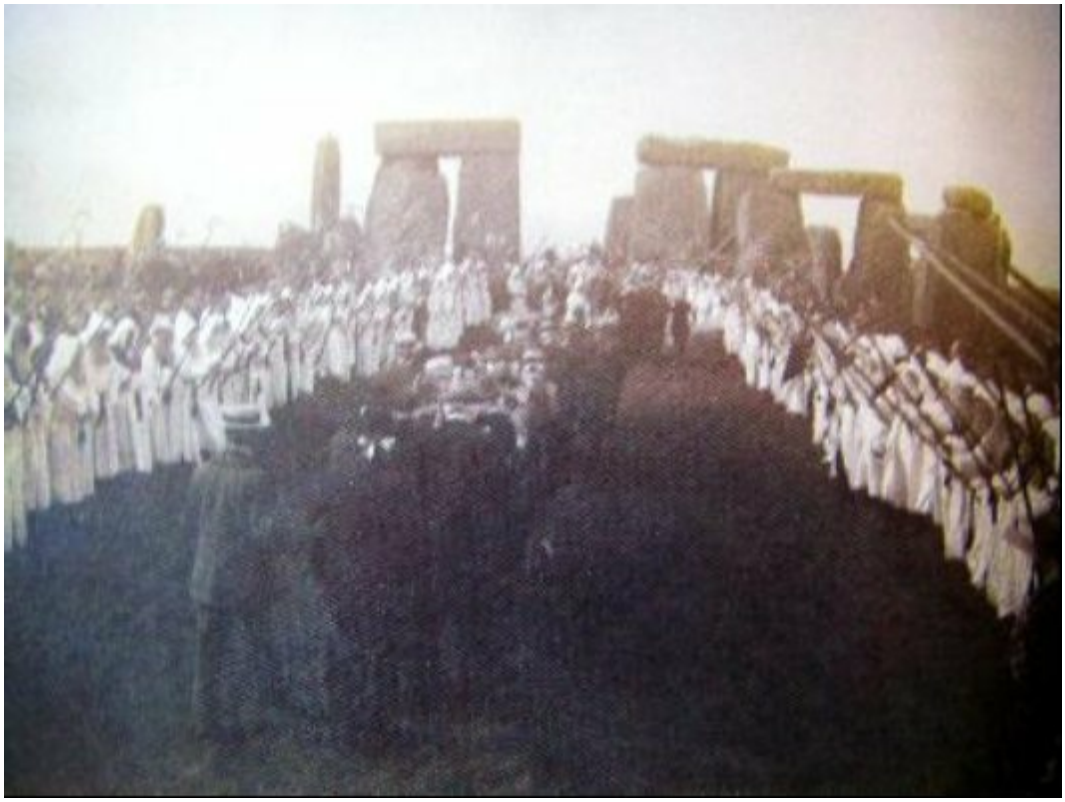


Farm carts going past Stonehenge in the 1880s.

While Stonehenge is now officially owned by the Crown, the state has had several entities manage the site. It is currently managed by English Heritage, an appointed body established in 1983 to manage government-owned archaeological sites. The surrounding area was bought up after a national fundraiser in the 1920s and given to the National Trust, an independent non-profit dedicated to land preservation. Currently, the Trust owns 827 hectares around the site, including numerous smaller archaeological sites.[25] Hence, unlike nearby Avebury Circle, there has never been significant modern settlement in or around the site, ensuring it has retained a rural character.

Of course, that's not to say the site remained a dormant place. With the rise of alternative religions, neo-paganism, the counterculture, and the rock and roll music scene, Stonehenge has continued to play a role not simply as a "historic site" but as a place where modern events occur. Moreover, folklore continues to arise about the site, such as those who have attributed it to the work of extraterrestrials based off of the writings of Erich von Däniken.[26] Others believe that Stonehenge is connected to avenues of spiritual power called "Ley Lines" that criss-cross Britain.

Given the mysteries, the history, and the debates, it is no surprise that Stonehenge is perhaps the most controversial, protested, and disputed ancient monument in the world today. None of the issues of primary importance — its original purpose, its owners, its contemporary meaning, and what is needed for its conservation — have been answered by anything approaching a scholarly consensus. Every year, it is the site of an "annual summer solstice ritual of confrontation between forces of order and disorder"[27]. Much of this confrontation is due to the fact that the site has immense spiritual and symbolic importance for a broad population of druids, neo-pagans, New Age Travellers, and other members of Britain's "counterculture."



Picture of a druid initiation ritual at Stonehenge in 1905

Much of the tension is due to the fact that for the official guardians and interpreters of Stonehenge — English Heritage, the National Trust, English Nature and the archaeological community — Stonehenge is fundamentally a place of the past and a piece of Britain's "heritage." However, for those countercultural groups, Stonehenge is far from dead and cold; it is, in the words of cultural historian Andy Worthington, a "living temple" and an "icon of alternative Britain".

The focal point of this confrontation has always been the visually dramatic events that occur during the summer and winter solstices, especially the dawn alignments at the summer solstice, which many Britons have found to be the perfect time for a night-long celebration of life and love. These rituals, invented in the 18th century, are the product of a religious and social movement called Druidism or, to contrast it with its pre-Roman inspiration: Neo-Druidism.

The Druid's (or Gorsedd) Prayer
Original by Iolo Morganwg
This Version by the Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids

"Grant, O Holy Ones, Thy Protection;
And in protection, strength;
And in strength, understanding;
And in understanding, knowledge;
And in knowledge, the knowledge of justice;
And in the knowledge of justice, the love of it;
And in that love, the love of all existences;
And in the love of all existences the love of Earth our mother and all goodness."

Stonehenge, and stone monuments like it around Britain, have been indefinably linked in the minds of the people of Britain with the "druids" since the writings of the 18th century archaeologist William Stukeley. Stukeley, however, did not act alone; around Britain, upper class (often Anglican) Britons were at this time seeking to understand the ancient "Celtic" religions of their islands. For many, the druids held a great attraction, and the people began to form Druidic Orders around the writings of scholars like Stukeley and Iolo Morganwg (1747-1826). Morganwg, a Welsh nationalist, claimed to have found documents detailing druidic rituals, and even though it is now known that he faked the original documents, his ceremonials have made a deep impact upon the modern Druidic Movement. A variation of his ritual is still performed yearly at Stonehenge.

The work of writers like Morganwg was aided by the nature of the site. 19th century romantics were often caught up in the Salisbury Plain's barren,

rugged and windswept nature. They popularized the concept of the "sublime," a natural landscape with the power to inspire the fear of God into the visitor, and this was contrasted with the "beautiful" landscapes that represented the pleasant and soft side of nature. 19th century visitors to Stonehenge came not so much to wonder about historic facts but to shiver at the barbarity of the ancient Britons and the sublime terror of the monument of the landscape. For those who could not visit the site personally, it was further popularized by the paintings of Romantic artists like J.M.W. Turner, and John Constable, who depicted a ruinous, eerie landscape. This experience was understood as a fundamentally religious and aesthetic one, and it has served to undergird the spiritual encounter between the neo-druids and the monument. While early archaeologists may have shared this sense, today it fundamentally separates the religious and scientific connections people have with the site.

Constable's painting of Stonehenge (1835)

Turner's painting of Stonehenge (1828)

The modern druid movement has bifurcated into two branches. On the one hand, there is the Gorseddau, which are ceremonial institutions in Wales, Cornwall and the continental region of Brittany that aim to promote their local Celtic cultures and languages (Welsh, Cornish and Breton respectively) within the context of yearly rituals and awards ceremony. The events are something of a mix of a Masonic ceremony, the Celtic Oscars, and the Queen ´s yearly nomination of knighthoods. These ceremonies are traditionally associated strongly with stone circles. For instance, the first Cornish Gorsedd (the singular of Gorseddau) was held in 1928 in the stone circle of Boscawen Un, and the much-larger Welsh Gorseth now uses custom-built stone circles for its events.[28] Morganwg´s rituals consciously integrated these circles, making them sacred ground which only the members of the Gorsedd, the initiated bards, ovates and druids, could enter.

However, while Stonehenge was perhaps the model that Morganwg had in mind in the 1780s, it is not located within a traditional Celtic country. It is

located directly within the thoroughly English county of Wiltshire, and thus it has never been the site of a nationalist Gorsedd ceremony. Instead, it has been adopted by the other strand of the Druid tradition: the religious neo-pagans. For these individuals, the Celtic languages are not crucial. Instead, they seek to reconstruct the ancient pre-Christian sun worshipping religion of the islands. Druidism in this form is a highly dualistic religion, contrasting the male sun with the female moon, rationality with irrationality, light with dark.[29]

The ceremony performed yearly in Stonehenge at the solstice is done by the Glastonbury Order of Druids and their political wing, the Loyal Arthurian Warband. The members of the Order dress in ritual robes and process into the circle. They perform a ritual based upon Morganwg´s original. They enter the sacred circle and "call" to the four cardinal directions, blowing a ram´s horn and chanting the ritual question "is there peace?" The ritual then involves the invocation of the Druid´s Prayer, written by Morganwg and used by both Gorseddau and Neo-Druids, and the prayers and ceremonial continues until the climax: the rising of the sun over the Heelstone. The druids perform a second rite at noon, and then the sacred circle is "opened", which means the non-initiated public is allowed in. Since the time of the Free Festivals, members of the New Age Traveller community enter and perform marriages and baby naming ceremonies, scatter the ashes of their dead, and generally commune with the stones and one another.[30]

This ritual tradition (and the accompanying yearly crowds of spectators) was mostly unchanged throughout the first 70 years of the 20th century. However, by the 1970s, there was a growing interest in the site amongst those involved in alternative "New Age" religions, and many saw it as the paragon of ancient holy places. These people, many of them branded "hippies" by the press, began to also arrive at Stonehenge starting in the mid-1970s and started a new tradition: the Stonehenge Free Festival.

The tradition of summer festivals at Stonehenge is actually far older than the Stonehenge Free Festival, with the first recorded one in 1680 and the first on Midsummer on 1781. In the 19th century, there were legal challenges over the right of the landowner to fence the site and to charge entry and deny festivals. The discovery of the alignment and the growth of neo-Druidry has

meant that the site was used for religious ceremonies by Druidic groups since the 1920s. With the druidic ceremonies inevitably came crowds of curious onlookers.[31]

This scene evolved further from 1974-1984 with the appearance of the Free Festival, growing out of a New Age interest in the site. Initially, groups of itinerant pagans began to camp out on nearby fields, having a festival that culminated during the solstice, but the events grew quickly in size. Eventually, there was an annual gathering for a national community of "New Age Travellers" who wandered Britain in small convoys. In addition to its religious character, Stonehenge became a central event of their yearly calendar for the Travellers, offering a chance to gather as a community. As a "free festival," however, there was no admission charged and no governing authority. As the archaeologist and historian Christopher Chippendale noted, it was a "time when the Lord of Misrule governs", and for them the site was not "a dry agnostic relic to be dissected by academic archaeologists, but a sacred place of living powers". Even as early as 1978, the Travellers criticized the official custodians' care, including the existence of a road that splits the henge from the avenue, the large paved parking lot, the decaying visitors' facilities, the barbed wire, and the arc lamps.

There was, however, also a growing presence of drugs. In 1982, an organized street of tents openly sold controlled substances with posted prices. By 1983, the festival grew to six weeks in length and included up to 30,000 participants. Naturally, the size and length of the festival caused damage to the surrounding countryside.[32] That same year, the government merged a number of previous institutions – the Ancient Monuments Board for England, the Historic Buildings Council for England and the monuments division of the Department of the Environment – to create the semi-autonomous English Heritage. The question of the Stonehenge Free Festival quickly became the institution's first major challenge, and the new Commissioners would respond strongly.

Picture of the Stonehenge Free Festival in 1984

By 1985, English Heritage – supported by Wiltshire County Council – banned all gatherings, including the separate Druidic ceremonies, at the site. They sent out thousands of posters, gained the power to close roads, and put out new razor wire restraints around the site. Proposals by Traveller groups for alternative festival sites near the area were rejected. This set the stage for a confrontation that would serve as the most important event in the site's 20th century history.[33]

In June 1985, Margaret Thatcher's government had an "exclusion zone" on the Summer Solstice for four miles on all sides around Stonehenge, banning all visitors, but a group of New Age Travellers called "The Convoy" attempted to challenge the exclusion zone. The Convoy consisted of somewhere between 80 and 120 vehicles and over 700 individuals. The group approached the henge en-masse but were blocked by mounds of gravel on the road. The halted procession was then attacked by the police, 1,600 of whom had been gathered for the event and who used billy clubs to smash windshields. Most of the group fled into a nearby beanfield, where they were

surrounded. Attempts to negotiate a retreat were turned down by the police, and a several-hour standoff ensued. Throughout the standoff, several Convoy members were assaulted and taken away, primarily with head injuries, by ambulance. When riot police arrived, the Convoy members attempted to flee – some in their vehicles – and were followed and attacked by the police. The ensuing events are still disputed, but Convoy members claim that police assaulted them with rocks, fire extinguishers and riot gear. Overall, over 700 Travellers were arrested, the single largest arrest in British history to that point.[34]

Thatcher had little love for the New Age Travellers, reportedly calling them "a horde of medieval brigands", and both Thatcher and her successor (fellow Conservative John Major) sought to repress their movement. The government denied them campsites, tracked their movements, and arrested them throughout the countryside.[35] Ironically, studies of Traveller populations found that many were unemployed or homeless in 1985 as a direct result of Thatcher's restructuring and de-industrializing of the British economy. It appears that the repression at the Beanfield was only the first blow in this larger campaign aimed at criminalizing their lifestyle and any large-scale protest or alternative gathering.

In the immediate post-Beanfield period, there was an attempt to emphasize the need to "protect" Stonehenge. For instance, the 1985 documentary "Who Built Stonehenge?" for the BBC's show *Horizon* opened with this description: "It's a magnet for visitors from all over the world. Each year, three-quarters of a million people come to see it. They're prepared to pay for the privilege of staring at a ruin. To preserve what's left, they're not allowed to enter and are kept at a distance. […] in order to protect the monument, for the past two years [the Neo-Druids] have been banned from holding their ceremony along with the hippies who regard Stonehenge as their cathedral of love and peace."

As late as 1997, an American documentary for the PBS series NOVA (1997) took an even stronger stand: "In the 20th century, a modern cult of Druids adopted the temple as their own and used it as a stage for elaborate solstice ceremonies. But in the 1970s and 80s their pagan services were gradually overwhelmed by hippies, drugs and the international press. To

protect the monument, British authorities now close Stonehenge on the summer solstice."

Today, the summer solstice celebrations once again bring in thousands of spectators. These events have recently seen crowds of 14,500 (in 2012) and 18,000 (2011), despite rain on both dates.[36] While there is certainly a religious contingent present, with some revelers pressing themselves up against the stones to absorb their healing energies and others performing elaborate Druidic rituals (including two marriages in 2011), much of the celebration can be better understood as an ecstatic celebration of life. The events abound with colorful costumes, feathers, flowers and eccentric musical orchestration (for instance, a jam session made up of conga drums, tuba, flute and a ram's horn).[37] While the body of the Peace Convoy may have been shattered, the spirit that animated the Travellers in the 1970s and 80s continues.

One of the animating spirits, and a personification of the contemporary culture swirling around the stones, is Arthur Uther Pendragon. Formerly named John Rothwell, Pendragon (born in 1958) was a participant in the pre-Beanfield Free Festivals as a member of a motorcycle gang. He changed his name officially in 1986, soon after Thatcher's repression of the Free Festivals. He, along with the political wing of the Glastonbury Order of Druids, became a focal point of protest of the stones, by participating in and giving magical support to environmental protests throughout Britain.[38] Their greatest success came when Pendragon challenged English Heritage's ban on Solstice festivals at the European Court of Human Rights once in 1998 and then again in 2009.[39]

The late 20th century events at Stonehenge also led to transformations within the Neo-Druidic movement. The old druidry was associated with elderly Anglicans and Celtic nationalists, but the new Druidry came to embrace the spirit of the Free Festival and the "Lord of Misrule." Organizations like the Secular Order of Druids, the Loyal Arthurian Warband and the Glastonbury Order of Druids were organized in the late 1980s in order to directly challenge the governmental actions that caused the Beanfield: English Heritage, the police, the County Government and the Conservative Powers-that-Be in Parliament. They became protest groups,

using the struggle for Stonehenge as a rallying point and barometer for their wider movements for ecology, nuclear disarmament, and a return to what they envision as pre-Christian values.[40] Even today, they remain prominent elements of the British druidic community)

Chapter 4: Tourism and Context

For most people, Stonehenge is neither a place of academic research nor a site of religious ecstasy. For most, it is a historic site and a potential tourist attraction. For decades, hundreds of thousands of visitors have made the trek onto the Salisbury Plain each year, making Stonehenge one of the most popular destinations in all of Britain.

Despite its rural isolation, Stonehenge is a relatively easy place to visit and is immensely popular. Most visitors come by car, arriving along the A3028 west from Andover or east from Warminster. There is parking on the site, but people can also come by public transport via the Salisbury train station or take the local buses to the site. More adventurous tourists use the National Cycle Network or hike, as it is a comfortable two mile stroll from Amesbury.

Many contemporary visitors often have a mixed reaction to the site, something that almost all commentators (including English Heritage) recognize. It is undoubtedly an impressive monument, but the site lies along the side of route A344, which actually cuts over the top of the ceremonial Avenue (where the sun rises on the summer solstice) and almost as close to the A304. Many visitors are shocked to see the site come into view while driving and are often turned off by the presence of fences around the perimeter. The visitor's center is equally disappointing. A decaying 1960s pre-fabricated building, it leads to a concrete tunnel under the A344 before arriving at the site. There is also no question that while everyone knows a little bit about Stonehenge, many are surprised that the structure is not nearly as big as they imagined.

Despite that, there are changes in the air. After decades of complaints by heritage officials, archaeologists, druid groups and uncounted tourists, English Heritage has launched a plan for 2013-14 to completely renovate the site. The plan, which has a budget of £27 million, includes the removal of the A344, the construction of a new visitor center, and the reversion of hundreds of hectares of surrounding land into fence-less chalk plains to resemble the neolithic landscape. Plans are also afoot to construct a recreation of a neolithic village based on nearby archaeological digs and to allow visitors to approach the site along the Avenue, as was originally

intended by the builders thousands of years ago.[41] For many, these plans cannot come soon enough, as there is a growing consensus that Stonehenge, which should be the crown jewel of British Heritage, is one of the nation's greatest embarrassments.[42]

Even for those who cannot visit the original Stonehenge, all is not lost because Stonehenge has reached the cultural state of a true global icon. It is instantly recognizable, and it has been referenced, copied, mocked and depicted thousands of times. Its mere image invokes ideas about ancient mystery, druidic rites, and neolithic genius. As a result, Stonehenge can be a symbol exported to other contexts. The most amusing of these are the faux-henges: Carhenge (a replica built in the Nebraska cornfields out of old Buicks in 1987), Foamhenge (a “perfect” replica made out of foam in Virginia), Twinkiehenge (built at the 2001 Burning Man Festival out of the famous pre-packaged dessert), Tankhenge (in post-Berlin Wall Berlin out of Soviet personnel carriers) and the unnamed replica by famous street artist Banksy made with portable toilets at the 2007 Glastonbury Festival. Then there are the Stonehenge astronomical references: Manhattanhenge (the name for the day when the sun rises or sets along the east-west avenues of Manhattan, much as it does through the stones of the henge) and MITHenge (a similar phenomenon on a long hallway in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology). It even has seen use in the heavy metal scene thanks to Black Sabbath, which toured with a replica in 1983-4, and Stonehenge lent its name to a World War II submarine that disappeared in the Pacific in 1943.

There is no question that Stonehenge is the greatest megalithic site in all of Britain, and that its surrounding landscape may turn out to be one the best preserved testaments to Britain's neolithic peoples. However, megalithic construction is not limited to Stonehenge or even Britain; it is a characteristic of the entire Atlantic Coast of Europe, and similar constructions can be found in other areas of the world. The European megalithic cultures built numerous styles of buildings: from Irish court tombs to Cornish quoits, mesolithic tombs of Scandinavia and even the Skorba tombs of Malta. Beyond Europe, similar traditions can be found in places as widely scattered as Easter Island, Northern China and Yemen.

Outside of Stonehenge, perhaps the best-known and most important

megalithic monument is the henge at Avebury. Located less than 20 miles from Stonehenge, it was constructed of similar sarsens and probably predates the more famous site. Avebury is notable because it is the largest stone circle in Britain at over 1,000 feet in diameter. In fact, the village of Avebury was built into the circle itself, sometimes incorporating the rough-hewn stones into the walls of the houses. Like Stonehenge, it has an "avenue" of approach (the "Kennet Avenue") and associated nearby sites: the West Kennet Long Barrow and Silbury Hill, a 125 foot high artificial hill, both of which predate Avebury itself. Avebury is popular with many visitors because of the lack of restrictions over the site. Visitors can move amongst the stones, touch them, leave offerings, and pose for pictures.

Avebury Henge and Village

The stone circle phenomenon – the "Henge" – is found throughout Britain. The word "Henge" originates in Stonehenge and was retroactively applied to similar constructions elsewhere. Some of the more famous sites include the Thornborough Henges in Yorkshire, which is made up of three identical connected henges aligned in a row, the Ring of Brodgar on the island of Orkney, and Boscawen-un and the Merry Maidens (two circles in sight of one another) in Cornwall.

Aerial view of Thornborough's three henges

Brittany, today a peninsula controlled by France, has long had strong cultural connections with the Celtic peoples of southern Britain and is home to a large concentration of megaliths, including the Broken Menhir of Er Grah at the village of Locmariaquer. It was at one time the largest stone erected by pre-historic peoples, standing over 60 feet tall and weighing 254 tons. In comparison, Stonehenge used sarsen stones that were closer to 12 feet and 25 tons for the outer ring and 20 feet for the Great Trilithon. Spread over a vast period of time and space, these sites were most likely built by different cultural groups, but they obviously share a common architectural history and possibly theological rationale. For now, that history and purpose remain unclear.

The Broken Menhir of Er Grah

Outside of Europe, there are several rich Megalithic traditions. The Near East is home to standing stones and megalithic tombs along a broad band, stretching north from Yemen into Jordan, Syria, Israel, Lebanon and Turkey. An especially dense area for standing stones is the Golan Heights, along the border of Israel and Syria. Another distinct large-stone construction tradition existed in what is now northeastern China and the Korean Peninsula. Even further south, a megalithic tradition existed in some areas of Indonesia until the 20th century, especially on the island of Nias.[43] Some argue that the famous Moai statues of Easter Island should be considered megaliths, as they certainly meet the qualifications for size. The Moai in particular have inspired as much mystery and experimental archaeology as Stonehenge, with similar debates about the how, when, why and who of the builders.

Conclusion

"Pile of Stone-henge! so proud to hint yet keep
Thy secrets, thou that lov'st to stand and hear
The Plain resounding to the whirlwind's sweep,
Inmate of lonesome Nature's endless year."

As this excerpt from William Wordsworth's 1793 poem "Guilt and sorrow;

or incidents upon Salisbury Plain," indicates, Stonehenge has captured people's imaginations for generations. To some extent, that task seems simple, since Stonehenge is a spectacular prehistoric monument, a world heritage site, and a sacred place. However, so many questions remain about the builders: their identity, their lifestyles, their purpose in building the monument and the methods they used. While archaeology has increasingly provided insight into many of these questions, probably more than anyone would have predicted even a few decades ago, it still seems safe to assert that we will never know everything there is to know about Stonehenge. But in a sense, the layers of mystery and uncertainty only add to the allure of the site. At the same time, the notion that Stonehenge is a "living temple" helps explain why some people's fascination with Stonehenge has nothing to do with the newest discoveries by ground-penetrating radar.

While much of the 20th century's history of the site has been a story of confrontation, accusation and exclusion, the tides appear to be slowly shifting. While the era of six-week Free Festivals is probably over forever, the hippies and druids have returned for their Solstice celebrations. At times, scientists and pagans have worked together. As early as 1986, archaeologist Christopher Chippindale called for a detente and a soft approach to negotiations, and today many neo-pagans are deeply interested in what archaeologists have to do. They follow the ongoing developments in excavation, debate over what is to be done with excavated bodies, and even volunteer for digs and experimental archaeology projects.

In general, all signs point to things only getting better at Stonehenge in the years to come. Religious ceremonies and raucous festivals have found a place alongside serious scholarship and wide-eyed tourism. New archaeological finds, like the two nearby henges and the neolithic settlement at Durrington Walls, promise to broaden current knowledge about the neolithic builders and their beliefs, while also holding out the potential for future discoveries.

Finally, the site is being given the respect it deserves. The road bisecting it is disappearing, the chalk grasslands are being restored, and a proper visitor center with an accompanying museum and reconstructed village will be built. It has been a spectacular century of research, celebration and

confrontation, and through it all the stones have stood as silent witness. With the exception of the neolithic era of the builders, there has perhaps never been a better time to visit or understand Stonehenge.

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. The story of Merlin and Stonehenge can be found in Book 8, Chapter 10.

[24] *A vindication of Stone-Heng restored in which the orders and rules of architecture observed by the ancient Romans are discussed: together with the customs and manners of several nations of the world in matters of building of greatest antiquity: as also, an historical narration of the most memorable of the Danes in England*, by John Webb, (1665). Printed by R. Davenport for Tho. Bassett: London.)

[25] "Stonehenge Landscape: Visitor Information." Accessed online at: http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/stonehenge-landscape/

[26] *Chariots of the Gods* (1968)

[27] From Christopher Chippindale's review of Andy Worthington's *Stonehenge: Celebration and Subversion* (2004)

[28] "The Gorsedd Stone Circle" at the Museum of Wales homepage. Accessed online at: http://www.museumwales.ac.uk/cy/902/

[29] *Blood and Mistletoe: The History of the Druids in Britain* (2011) and *Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft* both by Ronald Hutton (1999) published by Yale University Press and Oxford University Press respectively are perhaps the best social histories of modern neo-paganism in Britain. Hutton is one of the few scholars respected by both historians (he is a Reader at Oxford and a Commissioner of English Heritage) and neo-pagans (whose defense he has come to numerous times).

[30] For a blow-by-blow description of a similar Gorsedd ceremony, visit the "Open Gorseth" page of the Gorseth Kernow: http://www.gorsethkernow.org.uk/english/ceremony.htm. For the website of the Order, visit: http://www.glastonburyorderofdruids.com/

[31] "Stoned Henge: Events and Issues at the Summer Solstice 1985" by Christopher Chippendale in the journal *World Archaeology* no 18 (1), pp 38-59 (1985) pg 42

[32] "Stoned Henge: Events and Issues at the Summer Solstice 1985" by Christopher Chippendale in the journal *World Archaeology* no 18 (1), pp 38-59 (1985)

[33] "Stoned Henge: Events and Issues at the Summer Solstice 1985" by Christopher Chippendale in the journal *World Archaeology* no 18 (1), pp 38-59 (1985)

[34] Varying accounts of the events can be found in: *Battle of the Beanfield* by Andy Worthington (2005) Enabler Publications; "Stoned Henge: Events and Issues at the Summer Solstice 1985" by Christopher Chippendale in the journal *World Archaeology* no 18 (1), pp 38-59 (1985); "A Criminal Culture?" by Jim Carey, accessed online at http://dreamflesh.com/essays/crimculture/ ; "On This Day, June 1st 1985: Hippies Clash With Police at Stonehenge" http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/june/1/newsid_2493000/2493267.stm;

[35] "For New Age Travellers, the End of the Road?" by John Darton, 13 Apr 1994 in *The Bristol Journal*. Accessed online at: http://www.nytimes.com/1994/04/13/world/bristol-journal-for-new-age-travelers-the-end-of-the-road.html

[36] "Solstice Revellers Celebrate Grey and West Midsummer Dawn at Stonehenge" *The Telegraph* July 6th, 2012 and "Traditional British Downpour for Ancient Stonehenge Midsummer Rituals" in *The Telegraph* by John Bingham, June 21st, 2011.

[37] Bingham, 2011

[38] "The Raving Outlaw Biker-Druids and Their 1575-Year-Old King." by Matt Shea accessed online at http://www.vice.com/read/all-hail-king-arthur-uther-pendragon

[39] "Stonehenge protester King Arthur Pendragon defies eviction order" in *The Guardian* May 3rd, 2009

[40] For an example of this shift, one would do well to read the eulogies for Tim Sebastion, the founder of the Secular Order of Druids who played a crucial role in changing the face of modern druidry directly in response to the Battle of the Beanfield: http://www.grahamharvey.org/Tim.htm and http://wildhunt.org/2007/02/remembering-chief-druid.html

[41] "Stonehenge Gets a £27m facelift to end 'national embarrassment'" by Steve Morris in *The Guardian*, 11 July 2012 Accessed online at: http://www.guardian.co.uk/culture/2012/jul/11/stonehenge-facelift-a344-english-heritage

[42] "Disgrace of the Squalid Mess Around Stonehenge" Letter to the Editor of *The Telegraph* from Sir Angus Stirling 11 May 2011 (http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/letters/8505501/Disgrace-of-the-squalid-mess-around-Stonehenge.html); "Stonehenge: Road to Ruin" by Charles Spencer in *The Telegraph*, 9 May 2011 (http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/8498869/Stonehenge-road-to-ruin.html);

[43] *Megalithic Traditions in Nias Island* by Lucas Partanda Koestoro and Ketut Wiradnyana (2007). Published by UNESCO. Accessed online at: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001517/151795eo.pdf